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PRIORITY

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EMBASSY UNDERSTANDS "UNEN" EDITORIAL WAS PUBLISHED ULAN BATOR OCTOBER 18. INTRIGUING QUESTION IN APPROACHING EDITORIAL IS WHY PRAVDA WAITED TWO WEEKS TO PUBLISH IT AND THEN DEVOTED ONE-EIGHTH OF NOVEMBER 1 ISSUE TO SUBJECT WHICH HAD BEEN COVERED IN ITS ESSENTIALS IN TASS DESPATCH FROM ULAN BATOR, PUBLISHED BY PRAVDA SEPTEMBER 12, TWO DAYS AFTER MONGOLIAN CC PLENUM EXPELLED TIMUR-UCHIR FROM LEADING POSTS (A-369, SEPT 13). (WORTH NOTING THAT WHILE TASS DESPATCH REPORTED TIMUR-UCHIR WAS GUILTY AMONG OTHER THINGS OF "DOGMATIC-TALMUDISTIC APPROACH TO MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY", "UNEN" EDITORIAL OMITTS THIS CHARGE AND INSTEAD ACCUSES HIM OF FALSIFYING HISTORY OF MONGOLIAN PARTY).

ONE EXPLANATION CURRENT IN MOSCOW DIPLOMATIC-JOURNALISTIC CIRCLES IS THAT PRAVDA PUBLICATION EVOKED BY INTEREST OF SOVIET PARTY MEMBERS IN MONGOLIAN PARTY DEVELOPMENTS. BUT LEVEL OF SOVIET INTEREST IN MONGOLIAN PARTY AFFAIRS CAN HARDLY BE SUCH AS TO WARRANT DEVOTING LARGE AMOUNT PRAVDA SPACE TO ISSUE WHICH COULD MORE APPROPRIATELY BE COVERED FOR INFORMATION INTERESTED SOVIET COMMUNISTS IN COMMUNIST OR PARTY LIFE.

EMBASSY THEREFORE ASSUMES ARTICLE HAS SIGNIFICANCE FOR CURRENT SITUATION WITHIN SOVIET PARTY.

PRINCIPAL PROBLEM OF ANALYSIS, PARTICULARLY AT THIS TIME OF REAPPRAISAL FOLLOWING CUBAN DEBACLE, THEN BECOMES RECURRENT, CLASSIC QUESTION OF SOVIET POLITICS: "KTO - KOGO?" WHO AUTHORIZED PUBLICATION OF EDITORIAL, AND AGAINST WHOM?

EASIEST EXPLANATION WOULD BE THAT EDITORIAL DIRECTED AGAINST KHRUSHCHEV AND CONSTITUTES WARNING TO HIM NOT PUSH FORWARD DE-STALINIZATION CAMPAIGN AND ATTACK ON "ANTI-PARTY GROUP" RECENTLY REVIVED IN MUTED FORM IN YEVTUSHENKO'S "STALIN'S

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HEIRS" -- PRAVDA, OCTOBER 21). ANALYSIS POINTING THIS DIRECTION WOULD INCLUDE FOLLOWING POINTS (NUMBERS ARE KEYED TO NUMBERED PARAGRAPHS OF REFTEL):

1 AND 2. MAJOR IMPETUS BEHIND ANTI-STALIN CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN KHRUSHCHEV. EMBASSY HEARD RECENTLY THAT KHRUSHCHEV, SPEAKING TO SEVERAL SOVIET WRITERS IN MID-OCTOBER, SAID DE-STALINIZATION WAS "NOT CAMPAIGN, BUT POLICY", AND GAVE GO-AHEAD FOR NEW, INTENSIFIED ATTACK ON STALIN WHICH WOULD FEATURE, AMONG OTHER THINGS, STRONG DESCRIPTIONS OF SUFFERINGS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS DURING "CULT" PERIOD. (NOVY MIR, NO. 11, SHOULD CONTAIN FIRST SUCH STORY ACCORDING INFORMATION INDIRECTLY OBTAINED FROM ITS EDITOR, TVARDOVSKY.)

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS HAVE INCLUDED NUMBER OF ARTICLES ATTACKING STALIN'S ROLE DURING OCTOBER REVOLUTION (E. G., PRAVDA, OCTOBER 29, CONTAINED ARTICLE ACCUSING STALIN OF HAVING TAKEN ZINOVIEV AND KAMENEV "UNDER HIS PROTECTION" AT THAT TIME.)

CONTINUATION AND INTENSIFICATION ANTI-STALIN CAMPAIGN WOULD RUN COUNTER TO VIEWS EXPRESSED IN PAST BY OTHER PRESIDIUM MEMBERS TO EFFECT THAT BOTH DE-STALINIZATION AND "ANTI-PARTY ISSUE" WERE DEAD ISSUES. KOZLOV, IN HIS TWENTY-SECOND CONGRESS REPORT, SAID: "HAVING OVERCOME CONSEQUENCES OF PERSONALITY CULT OF STALIN, PARTY HAS COMPLETELY RESTORED LENINIST NORMS OF PARTY LIFE AND PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP." ILYICHEV DECEMBER 1961 IDEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE ATTEMPTED SET LIMITS TO DE-STALIN-IZATION.

3. IMMINENCE OF CPSU-CC PLENUM (EMBTel 1157) AND RESURGENCE DE-STALINIZATION RENDER OF PARTICULAR INTEREST CHARGE AGAINST TIMUR-OKHIR THAT HE INTENDED TURN PLANNED IDEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE "INTO FORUM FOR SLANDEROUS ATTACKS ON PARTY CC AND ITS LEADERSHIP".

4. KHRUSHCHEV USED EXAMPLE OF YAKIR'S SON AT TWENTY-SECOND CONGRESS. JUDICIAL REHABILITATION PAST SUMMER OF BUKHARIN AND OTHER VICTIMS OF "GREAT TRIALS" MAY ALSO FIT INTO THIS PATTERN. ACCORDING MOSCOW RUMORS, KHRUSHCHEV HAS BEEN PRINCIPAL PRESIDIUM MEMBER SUPPORTING "LIBERAL" WRITERS WHO HAVE DEALT WITH SUBJECT OF SUFFERING DURING "CULT" PERIOD (E.G., BONDAREV'S "TISHINA" AND EHRENBURG'S MEMOIRS). KOZLOV, ON OTHER HAND, SAID TO BE PRINCIPAL SUPPORTER OF KOCHETOV AND "CONSERVATIVE" WRITERS.

KHRUSHCHEV HAS ALSO OF COURSE BEEN DEPICTED AT VARIOUS TIMES AS CHIEF AUTHOR OF DE-STALINIZATION.

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5. PARTY'S CONCERN WITH PUBLIC DISORDERS (NOVOCHERKASSK AND OTHER CITIES), GROWING REBELLIOUSNESS OF YOUTH, AND DIFFICULTY OF SUPPRESSING CRIME, MAY HAVE RESULTED IN CHARGES THAT KHRUSHCHEV POLICIES HAVE "ACTIVATED PETTY-BOURGEOIS-ANARCHIST ELEMENTS."

6, 7, AND 8. THESE GENERALIZED CHARGES COULD FIT KHRUSHCHEV IF JUSTICE OF EARLIER CHARGES WERE CONCEDED.

PRINCIPAL WEAKNESS OF SUCH ANALYSIS IS THAT IT DIES NOT CONFRONT QUESTION OF HOW PRAVDA, ORGAN CPSU-CC, COULD CARRY SUCH INDICTMENT AGAINST FIRST SECRETARY WHO PRESUMABLY HAS SIGNIFICANT SAY IN CONTROLLING PAPER. IF PRAVDA ABLE PUBLISH THIS SORT OF INDICTMENT AGAINST KHRUSHCHEV, HIS POWER MUST BE VERY MUCH LESS THAN IT BELIEVED TO BE.

CONSEQUENTLY, DESIRABLE EXAMINE OTHER HYPOTHESES. ONE OF THESE IS THAT KHRUSHCHEV, FINDING IT NECESSARY DEFEND SELF AGAINST CHARGES OF CHICOMS (AND PERHAPS OF "HARDS" WITHIN CPSU LEADERSHIP), IS ATTEMPTING TURN ARGUMENT USED AGAINST HIM AND UNLOAD BLAME ONTO SOME OTHER LEADER OR GROUP OF LEADERS. NOT POSSIBLE AT THIS STAGE SAY WHO THESE MIGHT BE. ANOTHER POSSIBILITY RELATES TO PARTY RELATIONSHIPS AND POSSIBLE MACHINATIONS AT LOWER LEVELS. A THIRD COULD BE THAT OF A GENERAL WARNING TO INTELLECTUAL CIRCLES WHICH HAVE KEPT ALIVE PERSONALITY-CULT ISSUE.

IN ANY EVENT, CAUTION IN INTERPRETATION IS OBVIOUSLY IN ORDER AT TIME LEADERSHIP PRESUMABLY GOING THROUGH NUMBER OF SHIFTING COMBINATIONS IN EFFORT ALIGN ITSELF ON HEELS MAJOR DIPLOMATIC DEFEAT AND DECIDE WHAT POLICY CHANGES NEEDED TO COPE WITH CONSEQUENCES AND GUARD AGAINST FURTHER SET-BACKS. IN ABSENCE OF FURTHER CONFIRMATION, TEMPTATION SHOULD BE RESISTED MAKE SIMPLE, ONE-FOR-ONE APPLICATION CATEGORIES OF "UNEN" EDITORIAL TO SOVIET LEADERSHIP SITUATION WHICH WOULD LEAD TO READING "KHRUSHCHEV" FOR "TIMUR-OCMIR".

KOHLER

HC

Note: Passed White House 11-2-62